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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion.

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan.

*To-no'tch-cas. †Sho'-lotle.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico N43

Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.*

Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
● 796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[25]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[26]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-co-et'-zin.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

332

[696]

[871]

[643 292]

[796]

[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burning and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-calli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

[796 701]

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

[796 782]

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl.
†Shee-lo'-nen.
‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

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war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.) 776

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a devout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him. 793 776 771

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theology. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time. 796

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776
796

TABLE X

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE AZTEC PANTHEON, THEIR CHARACTER, AND SPHERES OF WORSHIP

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
GREAT GODS					
Huitzilopochtli, Hummingbird Wizard, War and Sun God, chief god of Tenochtitlan	5* 9 15				
Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, chief god of pantheon, solar attributes, chief god of Texcoco	5 12		13 8	10	
Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, God of Learning and of Priesthood, chief god of Cholula, frequently shown as Ehecatl, the Wind God		2	2	9	
CREATIVE DEITIES					
Tloque Nahuaque, Lord of the Close Vicinity, creative spirit, theological abstraction					
Ometecuhtli, Lord of Duality, like Tonacatecuhtli and his wife					
Tonacatecuhtli, Lord of Our Subsistence, Creator God, chief of the gods		1	1		
Tonacacihuatl, Lady of Our Subsistence, wife of the above					
FERTILITY GODS					
Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother, worshiped under many synonyms	11	13	14	5	7
Teteoinnan, Mother of the Gods, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Ixcuina, Four Faces, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Toçi, Our Grandmother, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Chicomecoatl, Seven Snake, Corn Goddess, ancient goddess dating from Middle Culture times	4 11				
Cihuacoatl, Serpent Woman, Earth Goddess, ruling childbirth and death thereby					
Tonantzin, Our Mother, synonym of Cihuacoatl					
Coatlicue, Serpent Skirt, Earth Goddess, associated with spring, mother of Huitzilopochtli					
Cinteotl, Corn God, son of Tlazolteotl, husband of Xochiquetzal, important				(12) (7)	4
Xochiquetzal, Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers, of Craftsmen, important		19	20	(13)	
Xochipilli, Flower Prince, God of Pleasure, Feasting, Frivolity			11	(3) 7	
Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, synonym of Xochipilli					

*The numbers refer to the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus*. Those in parentheses refer to variations found in the *Tonalamatl Aubin* and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776
796

TABLE X (*Continued*)

	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Xipe, Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime and Planting, the red Tezcatlipoca, highly important	2	14	15	(11) (4)	
Xilonen, Young Maize Mother, Goddess of the Young Corn	8				
Ilamatecuhtli, the Old Princess, a goddess of ancient times, related to corn and the earth	17			13	
GODS OF RAIN AND MOISTURE					
Tlaloc, He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God, very important	6 13	7	7	8	(8) 9
Tlaloques, minor rain gods, children or brothers of Tlaloc, a plural synonym	3 1 16				
Chalchihuitlicue, She of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess, very important	1	5	5	3	6
Huixtocihuatl, Salt Woman, Goddess of Salt and of the Dissolute	7				
Napatecuhtli, Four Times Lord, one of the Tlalocs					
Ehecatl, Wind, Wind God, a frequent guise of Quetzalcoatl					
FIRE GODS					
Xiuhtecuhtli, Lord of the Year, Fire God, a divinity of ancient times, important	18 10	20 9	9	(7) 1	1
Huehueteod, Old God, a synonym of Xiuhtecuhtli					
Chantico, In the House, goddess associated with the hearth and volcanic fire		18	19		
PULQUE GODS					
Mayauel, She of the Maguey Plant, Goddess of the Maguey and also of Fertility		8	8		
Patecatl, He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine, husband of Mayauel		11	13		
Tezcatzontecatl, Straw-Covered Mirror, an important pulque god, identifiable with the Chac Mool figures in stone					
Centzon Totochtin, Four Hundred Rabbits, the many pulque gods					
PLANETARY AND STELLAR GODS					
Tonatiuh, the Sun, Sun God with intimate connections with Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca				4	
Piltzintecuhtli, Young Prince, synonym of Tonatiuh					3
Metztli, the Moon, Moon God, sometimes identified with Tezcatlipoca					
Tecciztecatl, He from the Sea Snail, synonym of Metztli		6	6		(5)
Mixcoatl, Cloud Serpent, God of Stars and of Numbers	14				
Camaxtli, god of Tlaxcala, synonym of Mixcoatl, a War God					

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

TABLE X (*Continued*)

776
796

	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Knife Butterfly, stellar and also agricultural goddess		15	16		
Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus, the morning star, variant of Quetzalcoatl		9		(1) (12)	
Coyolxauhqui, Painted with Bells, Moon Goddess, sister of Centzon Huitznaua					
Centzon Huitznaua, 400 Southerners, star gods of south					
Centzon Mimixcoa, 400 Northerners, star gods of north					
Tzitzimime, Monsters Descending from Above, stellar gods					
GODS OF DEATH, EARTH					
Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Region of Death, God of Death		10	10	11	5
Mictecacihuatl, Lady of Region of Death, wife of Death God					
Tepeyollotl, Heart of the Mountains, Mountain God, Jaguar God		3	3		8
Tlaltecuhtli, Lord of Earth, earth monster, personification of earth in contrast to sun				2	
Teoyaomiqui, God of Dead Warriors, a specialized Death God				6	
Huahuantli, the Striped, synonym of Teoyaomiqui				(6)	
VARIANTS OF GREAT GODS					
Itzli, Stone Knife, a surrogate of Tezcatlipoca in guise of sacrificial knife		20			2
Itzlacoliuhqui, Curved Obsidian Knife, another variant of Tezcatlipoca		12	(13)		
Paynal, the Hasty, messenger of Huitzilopochtli					
Yacatecuhtli, Lord Who Guides, God of Traveling Merchants	15 12				
Chalchiuhtetolin, Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca		17	(18)		
Yaotl, Enemy, synonym of Tezcatlipoca				(5)	
OTHER GODS					
Xolotl, Double, Monster God, twin of Quetzalcoatl		16	17		
Itztlilton, Little Black Face, God of Health and Cures from Ills				(2)	
Cihuateteo, Goddesses, witches, spirits of women dead in childbirth					
Huehuecoyotl, Old Coyote, backbiter or mischief-maker, god of Otomi		4	4		

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpobualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpobualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. -Analyst]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 805 *tonalamatl*, after the book in which it was recorded, was a sacred almanac. It covered a period of 260 days, the significance of which may have been magical or possibly of an astronomical origin, as yet unexplained. It was composed of the twenty day names of the Aztec month, combined with the numbers one to thirteen (Table XI). Whenever the sequence of numbers ended, the series was repeated, and the same arrangement held true for the list of days. Thus the fourteenth day of the twenty in the list received the number one, and so on up to seven for the twentieth day. Then when the series of day names recommenced the first name was numbered eight. By this means within the 260-day period every day was distinguished by the combination of one of twenty names with one of thirteen numerals. At the close of each period another began immediately, as is shown on Table XI.

This sacred period was further divided into twenty weeks of thirteen days each (Table XII). Every week began with the number one and the day name which came up according to the rotation of the sequence. Thus within the *tonalpohualli* period no day in one week could be confused with that of another, since the name and associated number precluded repetition.[4]

A god or goddess presided over each of the list of twenty days (Table XIII) and over each of the twenty "weeks" (Table XIV). The gods of the weeks followed the same order as the day gods, with this exception, that the god of the eleventh day was dropped from the list, moving the remainder in order up one place each. The resultant vacancy in the twentieth week, was filled by two divinities who exercised joint control. Sometimes there was a further re-

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796
805
[212]

FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

Cipactli Crocodile	*Ehecatl* Wind	*Calli* House	*Cuetzpallin* Lizard	*Coatl* Snake
Miquiztli Death	*Mazatl* Deer	*Tochtli* Rabbit	*Atl* Water	*Itzcuintli* Dog
Ozomatli Monkey	*Malinalli* Herb	*Acatl* Reed	*Ocelotl* Jaguar	*Cuauhtli* Eagle
Cozcaquauhtli Vulture	*Ollin* Motion	*Tecpatl* Flint Knife	*Quiauitl* Rain	*Xochitl* Flower

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper 796

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

TABLE XIII

DAY GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI

796
805

Day	*God*	*Name and Nature*
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
2 Wind	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, Sky God, God of Learning
3 House	Tepeyollotl	Heart of Mountains, an Earth God
4 Lizard	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Mischief-Maker
5 Snake	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
6 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
7 Deer	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
8 Rabbit	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
9 Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of Year, Fire God
10 Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of Region of Dead, Death God
11 Monkey	Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Spring and Flowers
12 Grass	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
13 Reed	Tezcatlipoca or variant like Itzlacoliuhqui	Smoking Mirror, a Great God, cf. Gods of Weeks Carved Obsidian Knife
14 Ocelot	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother
15 Eagle	Xipe	Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
16 Vulture	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
17 Motion	Xolotl or variant	Double, Monster God
18 Flint Knife	Tezcatlipoca or Chalchiuhtotolin	Smoking Mirror, Great God, Jeweled Bird, Week Gods
19 Rain	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
20 Flower	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

TABLE XIV

GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI WEEKS

796 805

Week Beginning	*God*	*Name*
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
1 Ocelot	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, a Sky God
1 Deer	Tepeyollotl	Heart of the Mountains, an Earth God
1 Flower	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Backbiter, old Otomi tribal god
1 Reed	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
1 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
1 Rain	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
1 Grass	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
1 Snake	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of the Year, Fire God
1 Flint	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of the Region of the Dead, Death God
1 Howling Monkey	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
1 Lizard	Itzlacoliuhqui	The Carved Obsidian Knife, God of Cold
1 Motion	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Goddess
1 Dog	Xipe Totec	Our Lord the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
1 House	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
1 Vulture	Xolotl	Double, Monster God
1 Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca
1 Wind	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
1 Eagle	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers
1 Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli and Itztli	Lord of Year, Fire God Stone Knife, God of Obsidian Knife

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TABLE XV

796
805

GODS OF THE DAY HOURS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BIRDS

Day Gods	*Name*	*Associated Bird*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	White Hummingbird
2. Tlaltecuhtli	Lord of Earth, the Earth Monster	Green Hummingbird
3. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Falcon
4. Tonatiuh	The Sun, Sun God	Quail
5. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Eagle
6. Teoyaomiqui	Warrior Death, Death God	Screech Owl
7. Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Flowers	Butterfly
8. Tlaloc	Rain God	Striped Eagle
9. Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl	God of Learning	Turkey Cock
10. Tezcatlipoca	Great God	Horned Owl
11. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Guacamaya
12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus God, variant of Quetzalcoatl	Quetzal
13. Ilamatecuhtli	Old Princess, ancient Earth Goddess	Parrot

TABLE XVI

GODS OF THE NIGHT HOURS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES IN DIVINATION

Night Gods		*Significance*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	Good
2. Itztli	God of Obsidian Knife	Bad
3. Piltzintecuhtli	Lord of Princes, Sun God	Good
4. Cinteotl	God of Corn, Corn God	Indifferent
5. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Bad
6. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Indifferent
7. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Bad
8. Tepeyollotl	Earth or Jaguar God	Good
9. Tlaloc	Rain God	Good

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is improbable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity. 796

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These reference books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.* (See Plate 59, top.) 212 [289]

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in accordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do 796 805

[Text continues on p. 198.--- Analyst]

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

TABLE XVII

THE SOLAR YEAR, THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS, AND CEREMONIES

Months, seasonal character, approximate Gregorian dates, presiding gods and chief ceremonies

I Atlcoualco (want of water), ceasing of rain [Feb. 12–Mar. 3]. Chalchihuitlicue and Tlalocs. Ceremonies for rain; child sacrifice; Xipe sacrifice with blunt weapons.

II Tlacaxipeualiztli (boning of men), seedtime [Mar. 4–Mar. 23]. God Xipe. Impersonation of Xipe by priests wearing skins of captives; dances by priests wearing human skins; agricultural dances.

III Tozoztontli (short fast), rain desired [Mar. 24–Apr. 12]. Coatlicue and Tlalocs. Child sacrifice to Tlalocs to bring rain; end of Xipe rites which sometimes held over a month.

IV Huei Tozoztli (long fast), worship of new corn [Apr. 13–May 2]. Centeotl and Chicomecoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting; decoration of house altars with corn plants; young girls' ceremony with blessing of seed corn.

V Toxcatl (dry or slippery), rainy season begins [May 3–May 22]. Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli; god-impersonation ceremonies for either or both great gods (p. 202); scarification of children.

VI Etzalqualiztli (bean porridge), rain desired [May 23–June 11]. Tlalocs. Ceremonial robbing; rain ceremonies; fertility rite, drowning boy and girl in canoe filled with hearts of sacrificial victims.

VII Tecuhilhuitontli (little feast of princes), rain desired [June 12–July 1]. Huixtocihuatl. Ceremony of salt-workers, who leeched product from lake; women's dance with sacrifice of priestess impersonating goddess.

VIII Hueitecuhilhuitl (great feast of rulers), adoration of ripening corn [July 2–July 21]. Xilonen. Feast for Goddess of Young Corn; eight-day feast; women wear hair loose as sympathetic magic; sacrifice of slave girl impersonating goddess; after sacrifice people can eat new corn.

IX Tlaxochimaco (birth of flowers), first flowering [July 22–Aug. 10]. Huitzilopochtli. Feasts on turkeys and corn-meal cakes in honor of the god; great dance with both sexes taking part and men even touching the women; merchants' feast, honoring their patron god Yacatecuhtli.

X Xocotlhuetzi (fall of the fruits), heat for ripening [Aug. 11–Aug. 30]. Xiuhtecuhtli (Huehueteotl). Furnace sacrifice (p. 202); competitive climbing of high pole by young men to win special insignia at top.

XI Ochpaniztli (month of brooms), refreshment of Earth Mother [Aug. 31–Sept. 19]. Tlazolteotl or Teteoinnan (Toçi). Sacrifice of woman impersonating Goddess of Ripe Corn; efforts to avoid sorrow by buffoonery, sympathetic magic to avoid rains at harvest; review of warriors and distribution of insignia of rank; drills and mock combats of Eagle and Ocelot Knights.

XII Teotleco (return of the gods), harvest [Sept. 20–Oct. 9]. Tezcatlipoca. Ceremonies honoring the return of the gods to the earth; Tezcatlipoca first to come; two absent, Xiuhtecuhtli, too old to travel, Yacatecuhtli, merchant wandering off beaten track; ceremonial drunkenness and furnace sacrifice.

XIII Tepeilhuitl (feast of the mountains), rain [Oct. 10–Oct. 29]. Tlalocs. Ceremonies for mountain rain gods, an aspect of Tlalocs; use of wooden snakes and figurines covered with amaranth paste; sacrifice of four women and a man with subsequent ceremonial cannibalism.

197 XIV Quecholli [bird, quail(?)], rain [Oct. 30–Nov. 18]. Mixcoatl. Making of weapons; general penance of four days; licensed old people abstain from liquor and husbands from their wives; ceremonial hunt with sacrifice of game and ceremonial feasting on the hill.

XV Panquetzaliztli (feast of the flags), winter solstice [Nov. 19–Dec. 8]. Huitzilopochtli. Festivals honoring War God; mock or staged combats; imprinting of hand impressions by captives.

XVI Atemoztli (fall of the waters), rain [Dec. 9–Dec. 28]. Tlalocs. Vigils and offerings to household gods; winter solstice at time of conquest; erection of poles with paper streamers coated with rubber.

XVII Tititl (severe weather), season of serenity [Dec. 29–Jan. 7]. Ilamatecuhtli. Sacrifice of woman impersonating goddess; sympathetic magic to bring rain by weeping, through children crying on first day of month and men and children beating women with straw-filled bags to make them cry.

XVIII Izcalli (resuscitation), toasting of corn supply [Jan. 18–Feb. 6]. Xiuhtecuhtli. Ceremonial hunt; killing of captives every four years; killing of birds and arrow sacrifice at Cuauhtitlan.

Nemontemi (five unlucky days) [Feb. 7–Feb. 11].

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 805 with farming, and the days of the month were distinguished by numbers, in addition to their *tonalpohualli* name and number described above. Years were identified in terms of the two methods, since they were named for the *tonalpohualli* day on which the year began.*

Only four of the twenty day names could begin the year, as a simple mathematical calculation will prove. Three hundred and sixty-five (the number of days in a year) divided by twenty (the total of the day names) leaves a remainder of five. Thus of the twenty day names only four can begin the year. House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint Knife must always recur as New Year's Day, since they are the third, eighth, thirteenth and eighteenth days in the list, thus being separated from each other by five numbers. In that thirteen, the quantity of numbers available, divides into 365 with a remainder of one, the number of the day increased by one each new year. Thus the years were numerically distinguishable—1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 House, 4 Flint Knife, 5 Rabbit, and so on, until the thirteen numbers and four day names began to repeat themselves, which occurred after fifty-two (13×4) years. This is the mathematical reason for the Aztec cycle or major time unit, and in the Valley of Mexico they did not go further and distinguish between cycles except indirectly. In consequence there is the same sort of confusion in referring to events as would result were we to designate years within the century without distinguishing the number of centuries before or after Christ. Thus the discovery of America would be recorded as 92 and the Declaration of Independence as 76, and only a detailed knowledge of history would enable us to fix the events in their proper relationship to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plates 62, top left; 63.)

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The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which we compensate by adding a day every four years as the twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[1] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[2]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

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●796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [788] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 [276] 782

Prisoners of war and their captors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yaubtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[13]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls spitted on the rack beside the temple."[18] (See Plate 61, top.)

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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212

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PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

[p. 208(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

723 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size
648 and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearn-
796 ing when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he
[775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli.*

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Astec NU7

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which tells of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an owner of evil; a soothsayer, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague —that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The members bathed them.[5]

And he was then arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent: diagram, the blue tassel cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore sandals and shield.[9]

Inic ce capitulo, ynnchqui itenca, yn ce omen tlapanaujo teuuh: yn quinmoteutiaia, ynnon yn quintlamanjliaia, yn in nican.

Vitzilobuchtli: çan macuilli, çan tlacatl ceca: tecalli, tetzaujol, atlacacemalle, mimoqueuj: quijocuioj in iaoiutl, iaotecuuj, iaotetemuj:

ca inchipa mjtoaia, ynpan quijxlaqa yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhuaztli, q. n. iaoiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn iquac: illuiqujxjuiloia, malnjtoaia, tlaxilolinjtoaia: tzoltzinia, yn panhuca.

Auh yuje: mochichioaia: xiuhcoamacoche ceca, xiuhcuexcuelo, xiuhtilajolo, tzotzocan, tzitzile, cuecalli.

Second Chapter, which tells of the god named He who Humeeth (Peyotl), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Peyotl was "the dangers," "the calamities," "the despoy"; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Peyotl, because he pressed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Jnic vnne capitulo, ynnchqui itenca yn teuil yn jxuca peyotl: yn quinmoteutiaia, ynnon in quintlamanjliaia in tecuuh.

Peyotl: tecuanilloticuj, tecuinjpolocuj: tepan mimoqueuj: ichica in quinjnipolocuia, in vitzilobuchtli, yn iquac: tlaxcalaoia, tetzacuiaia peyotl: ipampa in ceca, quijxotonia, quijxoxolochtoloia.

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "Capitulo primero, que habla, *del principal dios . . .*"
2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 425, refers to him as *ein Sonnenheros*.
3. Seler then phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked augur, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 4.
4. Cf. Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he shower the mankind and the firmament, i. e., war, wrath (upon chastising) and fire on the people" (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 210). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtli nunbe de dos cosas para castigar sus enemigos para ayudarles y favorecerles; la una es llama abrasadora, y la otra remolinos* . . . *y él tenia por otro nombre la una cosa relativa hacha de navajas, que llaman abrasadora, con derecho sino torcuosa o combada, y aquello, decian ellos, como representativo en las batallas como que cortaba bien la cabeza sobre los enemigos con que los capturaban y hacia bien.*"
5. The meaning (*cf.* verbal) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (*cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 170, 184).
6. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 168; Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425) identifies the bird as *Cotinga ridgwayi* a. *carmoisi*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a manner possible. Sinclair, *op. cit.*, p. 499, calls the bird *Herbivorus oris* (Hern.).
7. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 170, suggests that cords on outside of clothing were sometimes worn above the legs.
8. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 220, and Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 180, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a reed, to insure a dimension. In the Spanish text of the Florentine Codex, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines instrumento as "*pedazo de hueso fuera, a manera del manipulo, que se usa en la misa.*" Cf. also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 90), who says that it is the same as *quetzalapanecayotl*. See illus. of Uitzilopochtli.
9. The *MS Bibliotec del Palacio* reads *mixtilli, tzontli, in itech—*an indication that they were worn on the soles of the legs.—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.
10. Sahagún (Florentine Codex, corresponding Spanish text) describes Peyotl as figure *apocrypha*.

T76 T76 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling, howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

T76 [T76] And one was carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Rose were painted on his face; and a rose design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the hummingbird disguise. He had the hummingbird shield; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Ask in mocenali, quiyocuia, quiyolalochcuia, cuicuiyotiuia, quicuacuetziuia, tenhuli quiquentiuia; ilelli quipopoctiuia: inhuqui tlaiuapuquiya, ilelli tecuiuia:

auh ce ilacuel quiyapaloctiuia.

Auh yuic mochichioaia, tecpanecatiuia, quetzalquauacuel, in cuaclahuia, iuacalichioale, icxitlalichioale, mixtlalichioah, xiuhiacauiuc, viuitollocuale, elacuaue, xiuhchioale.

T76 [T96] **Third Chapter**, which tells of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in those past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose deeds was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Juic ey, capitulo, yuchqui tlamatca in tezcatlipoca: in quiyocuiaia, yoan in quiyolaocuiaia, in uncauh.

Tezcatlipoca: yuin uel nemi ipan machoia, nemiian yuanquian: mictla, tlalticpac, yliuicac. Ja iquac nemia tlalticpac, inhuel quiolitiuia, in tenhuli tlaçalli: cuecuetzquj, cuiuiccuiuia,

tenuali, tenquauia motocuia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necuc inuel, mixchi quijcocuia, quiyaouiaia, quiyaocuiltiuia, quiyacuiltiuia yn jaquich aquelli tepan machoia: cuca tlaxiltiuia, tequipachoia.

Auh in quenman, quiyaocuia, in necuiltonalli: in tlaquiyl, in oquichiuil, in tlacauhiuil, in tecuiuil, in tlaocuiuil, in pilloil, in macuiquil.

Jnic nauj capitulo, yuchqui tlamatca yn nemi, yn iuicx tlaloc, tlamacazquj.

Tlaloc, tlamacazquj: yuin ipan machoia; in quiyaujl: ca inhuel quiocuia, quiyaouiaia, quipixoia, in quiyaujl, yoan in tetiujl: quiocuelaloia, quiyaocuiaia, quiyaouiloloia, quicuepaltiuia, quicuelcuia in quauhtli, in cucuel, in tecuciuil. Yoan no iuicx tlamjnia, in tolloquiltoti, in tlaxipeujlitoti.

Auh yuic quechichioaia, tlaxiltiquenalli, tlaxiltiujli, motlatiqui, iuiquichioue, iuuichioualoia, auachioale, xiuhtzicole, ezuatzuac, chalchiuhtzompa, papaloquac, no tzitzile, xonpilpane.

Fifth Chapter, which tells of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jnic macuiltli capitulo, yuchqui tlamatca yn nemi, yn iuicx quetzalcoatl.

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11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 44) declares it as a ready rule made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the shield (jacket) and the quiyoquichtli (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the skirt.

13. Sahagún (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 48) uses these demonstrated and demonstrated nouns "priest" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "Sacerdote . . . , Sacerdotisa," in *Bündner Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cornelio Sahagún, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*); "*im Gesicht eine Besprechung mit Steinigen Kunstlied.*"

15. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 169; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 963-4.

16. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

776 ...spe-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: Here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[29] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] man's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Ixic chicome capitalo: vncan mochioua, yn cioatl: yn joco, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: inhuel ipan mjtoaia, qujnjquiçaltiaia, in tonacaiol: yuan in qnpa tlein yuanca, yiolca mocuelli, yejoc, yequala.

Auh yuja yuaxchichiuale cuica; ixtlahuacuala, cuecuele, cuechcavipile, zacchiacuaia, no poçolcopa, tzoalchimale, tzoatlachimale.

Eighth Chapter: Here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteo innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, healers, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

[791] Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eye.[33]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the
● 796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteo innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They adorned her; they fastened her; they anointed her capriote; they caused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her (not) from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they hunted; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huastecas,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Ixic chicuei, capitalo: vncā mochioua, yn cioatl, yn joco: Teteo yma: no nenacaioia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Juxā cuica yn tiaca, qujnnenenja, in tiiti, in tetemjquac, tenimaquac, tetlamapjlioc, tetepanioc.

Auh yn cioa, tenjtoiaia, tepillalliqui, tetelaxilliqui, tlapoalloqui, atlan tetemj, tlatlachiaoaloqui, nacazalqualoqui, tetlancujxiliqui, tetlanecujlloqui, tetencujlloqui.

No ihcuacan qujtlatlauhtiaia, in tonacaioque; yçuanpa y, quimilhuia yn jnjquin, in tonacazcalloque, qujxcuiotiaia, tonacazteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ic ilhujqujxtilitiaia, in ic inijquinoquippa: in ichcauhtin tiiti, yn jnjquin cuica teteo yma, qujtlacoltepehuia, amo vel chocaia, quatlaqujtiaia, qujtlamacoxtiaia, qujtlacamapjtiaia, qujxcuitiaia, huqujchcuelanja, qujtlahuiltiaia, nemjquimiquatlania, qujmecalhuia, qujtlachiaia, qujtlacuechtlaia, cuecuepa, tlacuecuechia, tetlaxinacuia, tetlachililoia: in qujnjlhuca machiotia in tlacaia, ic quimiçaquia, ic qujpoxoaja, qujmacujlitiaja, ic panj nauhcuxtia.

Auh yn jquac omoje, yn jnjquin: ujcan oc tlacatl cuecuepaia, yn juxia, yuanpanila ochcauhcuexia, vmaxin yuexca, qujxjuia, qujmamaxtiajia:

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29. See Plate 39, which explains the name.

30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

31. Cf. Edward Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

32. Alphonso Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 444) uses the term "foam," for also Sahagún in referring to flowers. Huastecans show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 295-99.

34. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 180, 178.

35. Seler, *Ensayo Kquiol*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "dan dolores de [illegible] como quien [illegible] que se llaman huastecas."

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hook scratches. They were naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mirror-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Tezi's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the woman [of Toxcatl feast] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with pain strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a xue-skirt. She had the xue-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, xoxocotl. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

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Ninth Chapter, in which one learneth of the golden camel the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made tzapotlan.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were known used the tzapotlan ungucnt on the disease; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the constipation.[41]

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the tzapotlan ungucnt brought down and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-eared wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like deisel puppy-eared gods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

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Then was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sprinkled over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble rays-wands. She carried the rays-wand-shield.[44]

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36. See Plate II.

37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 102, adds in parts.

38. Cf. text and illus. in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Eden, *Guatemala Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 483-5, in which there are described as a headband of cotton cotton.

39. ". . . una manera de tiñas, o sarna, que cría en la cabeça" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. ". . . cierta enfermedad . . . que cría en la cabeça que es como lañas" (loc. cit.).

41. See p. 61, n. 139.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "*Appapoztli*, cierto ídolo a manera de demonillos" (Molina, op. cit.).

44. Cf. Edward Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 974 and *Códice Fejérvári*, p. 7—Nahuatl-Spanish (dead-end-ishword). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("Los nombres de los dioses"), says: "Este xue (yeuhtlemantli) significa evidentemente la corona y, mezclado a una hoja verdadera en el modo de pronunciar, usual colgar de quetzalitos-amatl. Sarta el instrumento para entretenimiento de la flecha . . ." (pp. 47-8)("El yeuhtlemantli, labrado de oropel, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la pronunción de los nombres en la Huehuetlahtolli, Seven Talmuds al quetzalitos-amatl, consejo de viejos. El yeuhtlemantli religioso, con que

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776 **Tenth Chapter, which tells of the goddess [called] the Princess (Cinxipilton).**[40]

[753] There were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They have people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one fumed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Cinxipilton, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Cinxipilton arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they
●796 made them offerings of *mâ*, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzcalli*, heavenly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotzcalli*, [others shaped like] serrefolial notched sticks (*xonecuilli*),[41] small tamales called *xocoxhiloncuecuelli*,[42] and toasted grains of corn.

And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of *mâ*, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzcalli*, heavenly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotzcalli*, [others shaped like] serrefolial notched sticks (*xonecuilli*),[41] small tamales called *xocoxhiloncuecuelli*,[42] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were then bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Eleventh Chapter: which tells of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli yeye), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god(dess); her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swirled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she capsized it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it hastened to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it lighteneth like the stamping of feet; the water sobbeth the down, spraying water and foaming."

Jnic matlactli, capitolé: yeoltqui dioss, yn cioatzin, cinxipilti:

Diablome ceca y, nacajitin, ueue yn jnixipeluan; inmah tlamjtin, quijnacah tetlamilia, ueca mocaiaua, ynjc ace inmah quijnezcia tlacalitzcui, tenecujlitj, tenecujlitj, mocuitlatitj, icxicopichanj, icxinjnjnjnj, mocuecuecuepa, tenquechcopinja: ic mjtoaia cenmomiquiti, ypan cquinqua cinxipilti, ytoatzi chalchiqua. Jpampa y yn ueuca, ancqo ueuca, quijmilhuiaia yn jquiltoan: ueca xenquiza tlalpan oci, ueue in cinxipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ymjlhujoh, ynjc qujnelcuecuilotia: chamomalli, papalotzcalli, xonecuilli, xocoichtlamomalli, inqujl.

Auh yn ueuca mocuepa y, in quemman ueuca yn cioatzcalco, in quemman, ytoatzc.

Auh yn jnecuichtlaol cuexa, mjxtjquinque: auh yuej tlacuxcalli, tlaixcopinchtli, tlaixcopetlli, yn jnnenoiquan, ponecacuepan.

Jnic matlactli ce capitulo: yeoltqui dioss, yn cioatzi, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli yeye: ahuatl yn ati.

Teotl ipan mochia: inhuejn cioatl quijxjpintiaia, inh mjtoaia, quijnacah yeoan panj, inmohuih in tlaloque:

ynic mocuitlatiaia, ynic inecuaia, ynjc nechcaiaia, ynjc tlamacehuia, tenecuia, tenhuenjcuia, tepolactia, tepan papanja, tenepanapa, tenxixia, tepan tenecujlacuchia, ynjc tecuelcuejoja:

yn ocelli quiyeoa, quiyelpachoa, quenjquenia, ca ace mimj, ca tema.

Auh in quema tepachoa, tepetzoja, tecuxtia, tlaixpa tenecuecuenj, tenecocotonj, huihuetonj:

yn jquac cenoh, yn ic omj, mjac inhuiz: quiyeo, nenchia, tlalquiqujlitj, cocoxtonj, ocelli inoh cenoxhuexo, cenoxhuehuepanja, nepapapaquiltia.

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se hace desender flores. . . . El sacerdote se ol por sombrio de los fortalezas y, los dioses, cuando sacrificaban subjan con que se alimen daz (pp. 139-40).

40. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 104-5; Vol. II, pp. 101-3. Bancroft (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 10, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 69, 88) *ibid.*, holds that Cinxipilton (the patroness) are the same as Cioatzin (the goddess)—women who died in childbirth (mocihuaquetzque) or on the accidental cross, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spectral earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were accepted in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down symbols, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to bestow men to sin and crime.

41. An S-shaped color, made to resemble lightning—Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

42. Folded *tortillas* in the form of open flowers, according to Seler, *Ruinas Xochicalco*, p. 8.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, glistening, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of Etzalqualiztli, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited necklace, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They avowed ecstatic herbs before her.

With the cooks heard of the deer and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they drew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they drew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her house.

Then Motecuzoma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief gainath rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicomecoatl; and to the image of the sun [goddess], named Uitzilopochtli. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be enriched; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue above the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-scepter,[52] which she wounded. She was from outside.

Auh ye iquac ode ehecatl, tlamatimanj, ennentimanj, 776
petlatimanj, cuecuexcatimanj.

Auh ye iquac: ilhuiquiztlaia, qui no iquac ye ennequa- 796
lizti: ye vncan ilhuiquiztlaia tlaloque, [805]

calolli in quichichioaia yniqila: quicentiaia, quiquipiltiaia, [778]
quicuacuaia, cuecpaxolli, inch pilcatiuh cuenic tecuzilacamalli:

yuan quitlamanjliaia, quiuanamiqui ye itlamatcaccauh, yiaulili, iquac quiquevilia,

calchiuhcuan ilhuitimanj, quimjcaia in calpolcque, yeiacacan.

Auh in vel iniqila, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
quicuaia, inhuan quiquentiaia, ye ommacuque: ye axi ye
mexiuiacuaia, ye acalica atlacuj, ye acalcque, ye apantlaca: [463]
yuan acalquetzque tlamquiaca, in quichichioia axi.

No ioh quichichioaia, no ioh quitlamanacaia, no ioh quicencauaia: ioh tlacotiuja: in mjquja, yncaiocan tlalocan: ye vncan ieuiquan, tlaloque, quelcmequja.

Ie iquac y, no oncca quimocnitlaia, ye motocaiotia: iquac tlamamaia, ye jnjqila, quitlacencaiia,

ioh quimaia: quiiaoltlacuj in tlacatl, quitlamacahuja ye jmacaual: yuan vncan mocnelilmati, yeje quimaltiquitilaia ati:

quihuiquiqua, ca ic timanj, ca tamoca: yuan ic mochiua, ye iuquich tetech monequj.

No ioh quimocnitlaia, ye jniqila tonacaiol, ye jnca, chicome cuel; yuã ye jniqila itzal, yeoa Vitzilopochtli: ic quihuiquiqua; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel yeoaca mochiua in tacculli, ic vellahuat, ic vel 776
cuep.

Auh yeqin, in mochichioaia: mamaia, tamoca, mocnequiloa, motocaiocaquiloa, micoçalloaj, chalchiuhcoçcan, xiuhcoçcan, tzauhcacalo, quetzalmjaoaia, atlacujlallotiqui, atlacujlallotiquiqui, atlacujlolcuia, atlacuiquauchtiuala, cinchicuepa, cuculoca; popolocque.

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48. Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 98): "este mesmo era hecho de unas cortezas, a manera de cernes, y era muy amarillo." Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 210): "el mesmo comido por el mes llamado pequeña pasca o cuesta de tortolitas con frijol (sic) la llamaua antiguamente."

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la fundauan . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas; y los que venden agua, en diuersas, en la plaça. . . ."

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque dezian, que estos tres dauan mantenimiento, a la gente pagizdor: para que pudiessen, viuir, y mantenerse."

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintauan, de azul, con color amarilla. . . ."

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenia en la mano, derecha, un vara, con tres cruz: hecha a manera, de la cruzada, en que se lleua el sacramento, quando van ala llamar y en cuyo cabo, dezia dicen." See p. 3, note 44. See also Illustrations of Chalchiuhtli (rain) and Tlaquiltenan (water).

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776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweet-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
●796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Macuexuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[68] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because four were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in five ends, the children[69] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—wherever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[70]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Macuexuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[71]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. There took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcuçuhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[72] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[304 852] 776 [Izcuçuhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green plumes; he wore a paper crown with blue coyanga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[73] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiquiztililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yeualli: quiqujxtiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, cepaltomjlilo,

ouihquiztumalli nichivlilloia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan quimanjlaia in tleil, çenpan qualoia.

Auh yn jeeveioan, iuh cemjlhuitl, in quicuicatia, quiteccipichilia, quiqueuecatlhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh xinc vel ołmaçquia in cemalac, tetlacoxaltiloia, ynjc amo aca motlatia, nuchichinoc: ipampa in iancuican ōqualoc ouihquiztumalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, nuchintin quintlaxaqujaia: yn aca cuetl: cujiatl, xoxoli, xaxalotl, tzotzol: in çaço tlein ocacic inieli, yeuanoc cuetlaçpa in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxaquja yn ixtac.

Auh yn ciuatl, nenjam tlatlaoanaia in veuetque, ylamatque: iuh quitoaia, quitlatoiaujliaia yn tleil, texcalcuja.

Auh nauhiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecuiotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jtzucal, xiuhtecutli, ytzcaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel nuchitlacatl, vel no iaquich tlacatl, quipaloaia, quitoquja, in vetli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pilloaoano:

yuan vncā quintlatiaia, quinmahuiztiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quintemoaia pilhoaque, quintlauhtiaia; ixhuantin quimamatihuja, vmpa quimoncaoaia, yn inepan iacopaltepetl: vmpa quinnacazzapotlaia, quinnacxoxouhjaia: inhepa in quinnachiotiaia, ynjc quimitta, yeuatzin, ymauijuan: çenpan tlaqualo.

In jaochichinal cuexa: diltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhcozomacuic, quetzalmjauoio, mjtzoma, tlacoxitzoma, xiuhcozomacuchc, xexocomexpanale, no tzitzile, cacujole, xiuhcozcatlatlapanqui yn jchima!, tlachieltopilo.

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68. "Una de las hierbas que se ponen cocidas es llamada huauhquilitl, que son hilados, se muy verde, tienen las ramas delgadillas y chiticas, tienen las hojas overbocicas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cerezas, empremas del agua que se cuece para comerse; hiervese tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilhuac." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 239. On p. 330, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

69. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents learned and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the entrails from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

70. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see translation in Simeon: *op. cit.*

71. Described as the 94th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

72. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrinos* (godfathers; patrons or protectors). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *enti* as uncle and aunt.

73. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a coatepec (*xiuhcozcatl*); *quetzalmantli* or *xiuhcozcatlapanqui*—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a rectangular cape, broadening upwards; *mitznatli tlacochcuauitl* or

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had turtle and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for rowing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[79]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quit, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[79] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched straws or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi cupitulo: inchpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemiuhque, ynjc netoutiloia tecpantzinco inteuh:
yn jquac noçaujliloia, intla aca tequjchti ipan ciocochiz, anoço ciouel, ipan oquichcochiz: mjtoaia, quintlaçulmjctia yn jneçoaliz,
ic quinmacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujxilhujltiaia, qujtemacoaltiaia, in xochicuiuitl, yn menezoalitl, tlapalanaltilitl, quetilitilitl,
yuicpa nezolo, nemiolitloia, ynjc qujcauia, ynjc qujquamiz ynjc qujcauacaz, cuculiztli.
Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa nevilhujtl nezochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chilcaoaia, qujnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, inelnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, monochiçaoa:

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muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcauiaia, in iotlacalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl qujmixipdatiuia, commaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjectiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ic nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotomaloia, noçoaia, tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjlilloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchenjtl:

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yn aca quauhcaxitl yujc conmanjliaia, yoan centoquiliaia oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitotoc, molloniuja: yoan vntetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no ceenj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl tlilticc, centetl tlatlauhquj.

Auh yn aca inqujtl, anoço necuzqujtl, anoço zonecujlli, papalocaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzocollaxcalli, tzocalchimalli, tzocalmjtl, tzocalmaquaujtl, tzocalmetl:

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yoan neujian oalcoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, motenoca maltequjme, yn jxqujch xochiaoalotoc, yn

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ovac quauuacalhuatli—*ovac* arrow shafts or wooden shells, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ovac* motif ("2 cane") or the *acatlalhuatli* (*ibid.*). See: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 73. *Tlauizteovac*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlauchtepoac*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bubas, ansi enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc.*"

79. In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes ázimos.*"

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796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, those "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.
776 And the garb [of Macuilmalinalli was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and brave. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was gay behind, had red edges. He wore one sandal.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "There! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Then he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whom are the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief men—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he dedicated: he had a crown of feathers—

inmmoquac, yn iuuauac omoquac, quiiecahuaia yn iuuallohuan, yn iuallauiztlan, in mahuiçoltiuan, machiotia: ajcaa quiçquiaia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh inic nen daiohi, inic tlachichihi, ypan tlaiacapanoia, motlaccauiçoia, quiçiqelaiotia, quiçiqelotia:

in tlachcaci, vncan mitquja, yn iquac illuiçjquilloia.

Auh yn ipachichinol: mocuepa, inelpalcauaia, tlaiaiopaloccaiaiçtli, tlaiaiaquiuilli, ylnaiocauia, quachichiquiçe, vinaqui yn jdiacauol, vincacalcauaia, ypan icac, tzonlaquaçtl, quecalcauaia, quecalcauacauaia, quecaltzoncoua, quecalcauacauaia, tzonlaquilica motenjlqui, mecatiaqui, youalcac, tzonlacaque.

Jnic exrtalli capitolo, yuchqui tlamo yc xxxij, yn jquac Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznauac, xxxij catca, yn jnech tlamjlaia, in piqujlloia, quiiocuia ca ixhuiol jtnactia, in cenaiol, in tecuiocuicalitli, in tetlacauatilitli, in tetlatlaquaiolitli: yuantijo: machiotia yn jnacencalaiotia, yn jnacauaquiztlia tecuiolque, tachi vicuia, vnqua mocuitmachoia, tecujtlaujloia yn jnjquia.

Auh no quiiocuia, yuhcauac mavi...tilo, yn jquac jnacauaia, tlavelcuja: tecuchqui, amoqo tecuchiquac tecuia, quillotjaia, yn aquja quiiocuiqui. Jn ixhuiol tleyca yn axno tiuchtlauiviznaui; ajnimotlalcahuia: auh ic ne ajcuaui, in tleio nuqua ajcchiuaz.

Auh inela catca nuqua, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjcqua cuauli quiiocuilotia, in ael, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aqui yn mjtoa tecuqua, mitcqua mocoua: yujc quiiollija, molcoua, yuqui: mjlacatoua in ael: molaquelanja in jquac tlaqua: auh yeoia xexeuj tzoquelanja, tzoncuioja, motlavinoqui.

Auh yujc illuiçjquilloia: yn aquja tecuqua, achtopa quichioaia, tecuiocalli, yiamjlo in uuei catca: qan tlacaci, tecuiocuj calpolo, can mellequid yujc huiviloc, vel tzoncuioc, mjmjlloc.

Auh yn ximo tzoncuauia, oc achtopa tlaiaquaio, achtopa tlaiauia: auh yn otlatlauja: conjcuicuioja, yn omacatl conuijcnio: njmon ic tzoncuauia, motlatlapanjlo, tzoncallioja, in tecuiocalli:

iquac quiquaio, iuhquja ic tecuiotlaia, otlacaquiloa, otlallioja, tzonlacuiolloa: ca yn aquiqui mocuia, yn iquac in illuiçjquiçjco, tecuiolcuaiolcuaiocia, tecuiocuia, yuuqui ca cuiolcuaiocia.

Jn ixachichinol catca: ilvitzmecatl, quauhtzoncatl, yuã

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74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) is meant. Cf. Bancroft: Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (Historia general, Vol. I, p. 222). The same source suggests various other meanings—the south, the house or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 232, 239, and also Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's down bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with seed-shells.[75] His breast ornament had seed-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] armed with a shelly war-plug; his shield was shell-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He was upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquechquemmecahuil, mamalo, yxmolin, ixipanemqui oyo 776
mocuelaxipanqui yn jnuiuc: yn jnechichinol, yxipanemih, yxipachinol, amapanin, yolochiuin yoan: cuica, yxolqui, ecapalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the curb-scamper (Tlahuicuini).[76]

Jnic caxtolli vei capitulo yxcuiqui tlatoa, in itoca yn jxca, cuica, ixtlilton, tlahuicuiqui.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacatecco. Here in his temple were many carriers' loads, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Tzoal cuica, qua quavitl yn jmapan cuica, yxcuiacan 346
tlacatiqueco: in vecan yxcapan, axjoc yn apanili, tzacuallanmanca, mocuiciuia ixtlilach.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquijo tzacuazia, pilnemili, vmpa quijoiaia yn 776
jmapan ixtlilton: cuecuel, quijtlapoia yn apanili, conjtaia 757
yn jxtlach; ic pario in pilnemili.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aquijo quijxitia, cepaltiia in cuecuepa, yuic 776
quijxicuia yehuan yn jaiapolo: qua tlacatl in machichioania. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and drink was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn cecic yehuan, tlamitia, tzyuuia: ajmoan tlaiiaquaia, 776
atlitia: yn oniquaiaoc, ajmoan mjtoaia, yn jxtlilton: yn 796
oniqui, yn oncuecuech, calitic oncalaqui: inhuel quijtlapoa 373
in vetli, nevillnjxtica tzacuinilca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiiacanqui, vinamaca.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nimoan ye vmpoua, yn ic tlacuaoc: oc cepa calaqujia iuvalca, quijtlapoa yn jxtlach, no tzacuinilca nevillnjxtica: ic mocuiltilhujxi in quijtlapoa:

If she, calmecac, sinner, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him openly. Then they said [the god] several discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic tzacuacuia, ixola tlapilli, yxola tzacuacuilli, 787
yxola tzaatli, ixola tecalli, vecan vecauc: ic mjtoaia, aqo tetlacuiloa, aqo ichcac, anoqo chochiuaui, nahuvilitic: ic aqo tlacacuallo, in tlacatic, ic quiiamatlaia, quiiacuacuia, quijquamia: ic mjtoaia tecuiloa, tzacuacuia cuecuc: ichica, ca quijchicuacuia, quijxiquamia, ic mjtoaia, yn ixtlelocuc.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large cucurbit called ixquaxi (face-covering).[78]

Auh yvjc oalquiça vchá, quachili yn quiiacuia tecuccuitia, ixquaxi. 492

Then was [Ixtlilton] indignant: he was spurred upon with eagerness; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic tecuhtlacuia, tzoyac, tzacuacuilhuyoca, ixjuc: 776
yolochiuh, yn jxcuiqui: tzcpacuechichiqujlo, quemallo,

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75. For description, see illustration and note in Sahagún, *Códice Florentino* (Manuscript), Vol. II, pp. 313 and 320; and also illustration (Charnay) —Plate 15.

The term translated seems the actual eyes or mouth, with encased shells beyond where the ends entered. The adolescent and the sacrificial were presumably the same or similar. Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 1. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "los ornamentos de su cabeza se quedan, hasta en esta edad, el qual llevavan pendido, atado con unas cintas de algodon a los pechos. . . ."

76. God of swallowing. Tlahuicuini (or tlahuicuiqui) is probably formed from tlalli and cuicuini. Cf. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . la qual ceremonia llamavan los mexicanos y hacian otra vez vuevos, que se llamaba ixtlil." The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "a este abrimiento, llamavan tlalcuiquiztli, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo." On the meaning of *ixtetecuili*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *tecuitlatl*.

78. ". . . llamada ixtlaxi (or quaxi) llaman ixquaxi: que quiere decir, cubierta de la cara porque quedava, cuando salia que anja hecha, la faxia. . . ." *Loc. cit.*

776 white clay. He had a spray of fine leaves, with quetzal feathers.[78] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[79] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had conchs and shells. He had sun-shoes.

Ipalnemoani, yn ixquich tlacatl, yn ixquich tlalticpacatl, yn ixquich tlaneltocatiliztli, yn ixquich tlamelauhcayotl, yn ixquich tlaneltiliztli, yn ixquich tlanahuatilli, yn ixquich tlaelpatiliztli, yn ixquich tlaixmatiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuepaliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlahuiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlatlauhtiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlapachiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlapitzaliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlaxoxoctiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlaxoxouhtiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayecoliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayeliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayotiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlaliliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatlauhtiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatzaliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatzatiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatzatlauhtiliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatzatzaliztli, yn ixquich tlacuitlayoyotlalizpatzatzatiliztli, yn ixquich 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blood], so that they sacrificed those whom they followed.[89] They fought, joining in bands against the valiant chiefs—those men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms (against those who were shot), and played at combat like fighters in war, some resting.[90] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tezcacoa.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[91] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on copper-like seats; branches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Tezcatlipoca, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was this]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[92] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his Yopi-crown[93] was placed [a head] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of human feathers, golden ear-plugs, a copper-leaf shirt. He had sandals. His shield was red and had circles. His castle stick[94] was in his hand.

Auh yn ixquichcauh, yn iuh qualoque, yn ixtlahuia, tlaxilmati, mocuychcauhque, inacpichmauhque, mixpoliuhcauhque, tetlacuilolihque: yecan motlecoccaia, motzacuhtlania, yn iuh ixtzalinque inepan, ynepa mocaccaia ye cioa, mjcoaia tetecoa.

Auh yn ixtenti ajmac in iz oncajan, ypan cacalaqui, no tlachcuca: yuquihpalpan tlalila, quimochalcuacaia, quimotlalmapanalia, quimixpactocholia, quimolamatia.

Auh inin ara cioatl, tzonmaxja, ixtecxinia: quijna, ma ojcchocaniliz, in tezc, ipan tlacaxipeualiztli.

Jn ixochiteuil, mixtlachtiuhcatl, tzonxalitz chiia, yiopitzon cuetlalteuac mazolihuqui, cuitlaxpiticac tlacuxcuxil, yiouia malli, tzonchiuiuacalo, tzocujtlanecuchic, tzapotzonio, tzitzilo, ichimal tlachtiuilacachihuhqui, chicuacuilli yn jmac ixui.

Nineteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Lord or the Vanguard (Yiacancauh).[95]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[96] the most traveling staves[97] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnaui capitulo, yuchqui tlaca, in uual: yn joca yiacancauh.

Ynehuca inezuh cenca: cenca quimauiztilaia, quijlaquentilia tetzacuiloa: yn jxcopil, ynezlacopil, yni xaxamja, yni

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89. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, tenían unos un juego de saltar de manera que si un vando, era de la parte desta diez, o veinte del otro tanto; y unos todos, unos vandos de peleyes de hombres que eniun muertos, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, unos los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas valientes, y esforçados: que no tenían en nada la muerte osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad saltan, o combatían, con los otros. Allí los unos, con los otros, se ocupaban, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los unos, a los otros todos en puesto, y de allí, holgaua huyendo, hasta la propria puesta.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of caltin in the *Encyclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiguo juego, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas convenidas ó caballos, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se emplean cuando se va a alcanzar.*" A Moorish exercise, in Mediaeval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was renewed in the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game exhibiting considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

90. *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Escrito Español*, has *cocoxca* in the Aztec text, instead of *ciua*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún translates the passage as "they conquered, contended, at the place called Tezcacoa."

91. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestían muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tezcacoa.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 125, defining Tezcacoa as "*los mancebos y huevos del dios Tezc.*"

92. In the *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio* text (Sahagún, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixpichtlahuiac*, translated as "*se hacía de Codicia de Werbrüderung.*" Sahagún also (*Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mixpichtlahuiac* (quail-like painting).

93. Sahagún (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 966) considers *yiopi* as "the old people" (Thepanec), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

94. "The word *chicuacuilli* means 'abominable anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the *chicuacuilli* with the four rays projecting between the human couples in carnal union." Seler: *Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 103.

95. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *inezuh-tzacuiloli* or *-tzacuiloloni* ("the lord, the painter, the leader"). (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 57). Tezozomoztli (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacanchihqui* ("*el que tiene la vara; capitán*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Méxicos: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name *Xiuhtzacuilli*.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yiacancauh as meaning "head of the cane," and to the form *Inezcuiuli*, which Sahagún cites in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the dispersal," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yiacancauh with Inezquitoque. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

96. Cut in four pieces and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

97. The corresponding Spanish text states ". . . *en una cada, cuajan, que ellos llaman ulial. Y cendían unos de otro manera de hondo,*

776
463
484
[416]
[439]

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were for dinner, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[166] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[167][But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Montezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and dubbed him with his maize-lopping. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when there who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had anointed and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the members and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the face."[168] They paid great honor to the cocoa, to the walking staff, of Yiacocauitl.

In the tribal temple[169] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fire, when they held a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially hacked and slew a man as a sacrifice,[170] for whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacocauitl; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chimecapixtoti, or Chalmecatecutl, Acxotecatl, and Nacxitl, Cochitzcal, Yeppiltzontsin.[171] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, causing them several many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the four-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they guided them in trappings like those of Yiacocauitl, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They were thus up [like

Auh in mamalt, in pactecomalt, in xiuhxoli, in xapanjli, yn ximacuiuil:

[263]
[266]

inhuel inxitilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, ontlan onmanj, vel calaquj, motlecaccaqua in nechichiualtica, in nexiuitica, in tlachtica quiyolochcallaqui in chanequa.

[292]

Auh inela ohuapanahtiqui, inela ohtiqui: vncan quiquixmanjctia, quinchillalilia: qn axo, aqo cc, aqo vnc ynic: ac ell tenantlaqua quiqa, inhuel quiyolmoteuia in tenenquca:

[263]
[266]

ic vncan quimaca, tzopilia, yaquenalcuauh, yn quiquixtiuitia, ic quiquexuitia, in tlacatl, vncan ic aquichtia.

[431]
[301]
[304]

Auh yn iquac: calactia, ynchuc: vn jxnilcoh, yuuacuipal aquichtiliqui, yn otlalnechocoa, yn otlalnehquetzaliqui: inquich tlacatl quiquetza, in pachuca: yuan in tlaxcqui, ic mocuitiuitia:

mjtoa, nocnipaca, onoca quimatiliuia yn inupil, yn jtlacopia yiacocauitl:

776

ono in calpulco quiquemia: achto quiztlacamjlia, yn iquac: tetlaqualtia: yuan induca nel mocuecuexoa, quiztlacamjlia in qua machtia yn jtlaquaia.

796
[778]

Auh inela xca tealtia, inhuel calitiuia, quiquexia in jxcoch yiacocauitl: anoço ono inhuantin yn machtiaia, in quimotetuiuia in chimequjxnjl, anoço chalmecacioual, yuan acxotecatzij, yuan nacxitl, cochitzcal, icnopiltzontzj, elac quiquexia, yiallohuaia, yn aqo cc, anoço vno, ca aiuic tlacatl:

yuqui cuecuexia yn ilcauacxilloca cuepcuexioc: motlahtlatilia, motlapopolhuia, quiquecuepa, quinjlixtia, yn qualtin quiquexaqua, yn acxo [illegible]jqui, in tlaixtiacti, in ilcauaxilloca, yn acxo cuexaqui, yn aile inlactiah ca:

776
796
567

yuqi inhuan quimotlaqua, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquiztlilloia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac quimohtlahtlauia, quimolhuaaaca, intoch quimalia yn juhqui yuochhiual yiacocauitl.

Auh yn aiamo quimjxtia, achcapa quimotetlauia: mjtoa quimjxtia, ic quimochtlia in motlaqua:

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166. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 57): Y acostumbrauã "proueerse siempre personas, que fuesen ligeras, è habilidad, para serlas grandemente, è engañar, y se valian, y usaban (para se proueer semejantes de Mexicanos) . . . ."

167. Cf. Tobar (Relaçion Exprisa, p. 222 vtima; Nat. Race. Coll. Mex. 8. II [66].

168. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hazia a los mercaderes quando boluian a su tierra, que se llama lauatorio de pies, mentions washing mouth and hands.

169. Sahagún defines calpulli as "iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia" (Spanish version)[?]

170. Sahagún defines the sacrificature in this manner: "Entre ellos auia sacrificios a cierta orden."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 210.

171. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacocauitl. Tobar (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 93) mentions Cochitzcal and Yeppiltzontsin as synonyms for Yiacocauitl; "Chimecapixtoti or Chalmecatecutl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxotecatl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

776
796
567

goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

iquac motlaohtia, motlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaolilloca, iccac, quinquetza: mach tlaçotlmatli, yn jmach quintlalilia: ipã nejneixtia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcaticatca, tlatlabelanj yn jmixpa, ynic inmixpinquetzaqui.

[565]

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Auh intla aca ixtiuc, in canca mjequi tlaolilli, yn cujcatocatinj, in ixlimatiqui, yn jaa, yn itlloc: quiquixtiaia in pipiltzi, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

[595]

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

no ixhuiqui, intla cioatl, intla tlamachtiloltiqui, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiaoh, in qualli induqual ymac quiqa; vellaxtlahuiloanc: no quixtilaia, quinonotlacacioacatzaia in pipiltzi.

776

[Yiacancuetli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, yxmjio, inquatzo, inquatzone, quetzallalpile, tzucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, ciooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhqui yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ymac omoc, oclaxapile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

Jxic cempoalli capitulo, ynchpa tlatta yn teuil yn jnoca canca Napa tecutli.

776
467

It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

Jnh ynjxtoa, ca no inmeh pouj yn tlaloque: inhoan ynnjxcuiloa, incatjan, in calpollec, quinnotzaia in petlachiuhque:

[173]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ynnch mopouia:

They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

inh quijtoaia, ca inhuatl achto quimachti, quimititi, in petlachiualiztli, yn icpalchiualiztli:

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

inhuatl axcaan cacocoaia, tlenquixo, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapoualtile.

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

Joan inh quijtoaia ca inhuatl quimaliia, quiquixtia, in tuli in tolpiltzoaoc, in tolpetlacti, in tolnenjlli, azoapili, in tolquijuel, in tolcapuel, yn jxoxoli, xoxali:

776
796
467
[567]

And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He washeth and bathcth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

yoan yn jquac illnjuhquiçaia, inh mjtoa, tepopoca, tealtia, tepan quixtemoloa, tepan quipiaoa, yn axochili, canca tlaiiehtlanjlilioa.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quimocta, tlacotli, in quimixtiaia ceuitlehica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "este sobrenombre creo que tuvo materia aquel, y sobre el aquel, que casi negaré de manera que aquel, se parezca, por las orejas de la red."

111. The *tzicatlcalcoliuhqui* also has been referred to as a cornucopiae-shaped wicker-basket design.

112. *Calpolli*—clan or gens, which consisted, probably, of heads of old families, ecclesiastical dignitaries, chieftains and numerous lesser among members (Bakker *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alfonso de Zorita: *Breve y sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 70-227). In various of his writings Sahagun uses the word "guild" where the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "Aunque cualquiera de ellos."

114. *Cf.* Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 140 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[116] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpulque*)[117] occurred [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be banished.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I eat not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpulque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] indolent; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

quiçhichinaia, ynnac mantlamatia, xoxouic, xoxouhqui ziualli: vncan ixtimatj ael, vexotica ic tzaualhoia. 776 796 ●

Auh yn iquac ceme ilhuiuh, yn qua neamajan: oc no ce quipiqualoiaia, quiçhichinaia: 567 467

yn iquac cha ace, petlachihuiqui quipeuhqui ychan quiyotin, quipiqualoia: vmpa quiviçaia, in calpulcque, tecuallhuiyoh, tzonechvitiuh, inhuqui ic quiçlanjlaia, ynic quimictelia.

Ynin inhuqui ynic mocuytlacxcultiatlaxnia: yn aqua in vnca itlaqui, yaxa:

quitoaia, nacamo ajcmopa, nacamo ajcmopolo, nacamo ajmiacuj, yn nocualloca: na onquale, na onjon, na onpopolj, na ic onmjxti in tonouh napa tecutli: na çaqua ajnonmjxia, yn ac inhuqj ajnochio, ac inhuqj ajnoxax, inhe quimati, yn aqui ida, nechmomaquixia, quimonacavilia:

ic quinquentiaia in quachtli, yn inipila machtiaia. ic onhuiçqui yn ichan:

auh ic otlachiliacati, tlatlaquaia yn jxuxinlque. 776

Auh yn jxalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxipila, cenca tlamauizilitia, tlacelitia, in petlachichique, machiqa petlatzoca, ixpalteoca, tlacuecuexi, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tlatlalia, machiqa copalcma, tlatzacalinhtoc tlatzacalinhtimanj, atle vetztic, ye tlaçalli. 467 [356]

Auh yuja yn machichinaia, motlilocac, mjxtlilpopoz, mixtlilhuj, mjxhchiuxjtitac, amocale, yiamacuexpal. amamantle, mimile, intaccaque, aitacuçomanchimale, axtapilcpile. 776

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloc.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloc.

These then named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, visited them that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

Jxic cenpoalli vei capitulo, ynchpa tlama yn inoca tepictoton: yn jquac panja tlaloque.

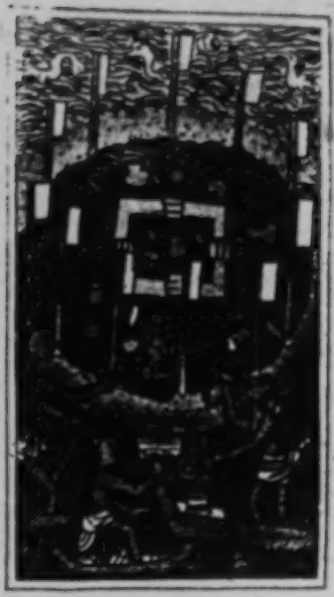
No yeuan panj, inuch tlamjlnia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjmjna tepicton, qua quimonpiquija, quimjmjpiaiatinia, in ixtepe, in çaqo cattle tepetl.

Auh yn aquja onocmja, onoquacnia, quaquahtia, 776
onotzonmja: anoço yn aquja atlan miquimeqj, ohuetl ipan 782
mouetzi atle: vncan nonotolcnia ynjc tepicuia, in quipiquia: quenmanoel, in chalchivitl ,yc.n, in tlaloc:

111. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "en tiempo de calor" (summer).
112. According to Durán, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 329), the *calpulcque* were "*señores de quarenta de barrios.*"

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
NU7 Aztec NU7



776
532

[782]

[796
467]

[782
753]

—After Pose y Troncoso

59—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9). Cuyahuacan yeay (Chap. 11). Chiconcuac cuauh (Chap. 7). 60—Tlaquiltenanco—Cuernavaca (Cap. 12). 61—Hapan xuxuhcan (Chap. 10). 62—Tepoztecat (Chap. 11). 63—Pynthlan, (Tepoztecat) (Chap. 11). 64—Appendix, Chap. 12. 65—Appendix, Chap. 12.

[For organized ceremonial, see category 116, pp. 1-39; 41-158; 161-192; 201-203.]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

[them] for himself; he summed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl ixac conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlaquiti, quimaxcati, quimotecuhti, iuhq'n quimotlaviuiti. 773 539

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzauitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in juan in coacoc: caiac nen in itz.

Ichoatl in oquipiaia in mexica injc otlamaniliaia, inic oquimaviztiliaia, oquitlaecoltiaia, ioan in itech muchiosia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in ichoatl in tlamaviztililiztli ocuica, ca vmpa tlalti in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh
ie inquich.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shaped, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked *maguey*, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, painted with flies, which he shot into his heart.

IXTH YEAR PARAGRAPH VNCAN motenecoa in quenjn quimaviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc qujmoteuitiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in quitlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ic in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, caxtiliaia, caxtilioia, iuhquin ixtli, iuhquin ivitl, quitlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujculiaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tezcaoauhtli, ioan ipolocatl, ioan in palanquj, ioan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichinoznaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhquin ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhquin axi.

auh in inuentlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc quimjctiaia ie nauh, iacatecpaio cuaqujlinia yiollopa,

17. Per mexihcayo, the *Real Palacio MS* has mexihcanoque, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See IV, 2.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl* cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 62, no. 20—which identifies *chicalotl* with *xochiocuilli* or "fish amaranth"—and 20. Seler (op. cit., p. 200) translates the phrase with *chicalotl tzoalli* as *den Samen der Stachelpflanze*; for *chicalotl* he has *Stachelmohn* (*Argemone mexicana*)—prickly poppy.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 5).

-5-

796

He died in the presence of Moctezuma and of the keeper of the god, who verily spoke to Uitzilopochtli —who verily appeared before him, who indeed could make him offerings; and of four[21] masters of the youths, front rank leaders. Before all of them died Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had died, thereupon they broke up his body of amaranth seed dough. His heart was apportioned to Moctezuma.

And as for the rest of his members, which were made, as it were, to be his bones, they were distributed and divided up among all. Two [parts] were given the Tlatelulca; and [with these] two, which were as the fundament, two more were offered to the old men of the tribal temples of the Tlatelulca. And as much was given to the Tenochca. And afterwards it was divided up among them, to each in his order, each year when they ate it. [Each] year [those of] two neighborhoods[21a] ate it, and also the old men of two tribal temples. And when they divided up among themselves his body [made of] amaranth seed dough, [it was broken up] exceeding small, very fine, as small as seeds. The youths ate it.

And [of] this which they ate, it was said: "The god is eaten." And of those who ate it, it was said: "They guard the god."

in imixpā mieqiia ie in Motecuçoma, yuā in tehua, in vel quinotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli, in vel quimonextilia, in vel quimoneniotinia, yuan nauintin tiachcauh tlaiacatique, inquintin inin imixpan mieqiia in vitzilobuchtli,

auh in omjc, njman ie ic quixitinja, in inacaio in tzoalli, yn iiollo itech povia in Motecuçoma:

auh in oc ceq' in jmimilla, in jubquj yiouijo machioa tepan moiaoa nemamaca, omolol in maco in tlatilulca. Yoā vme in ipepechiuhca, no, omolol maco in calpolveuetque in tlatilulca, çan no iequi in maco in tenochca. auh çatepan quimoiamamaca, çan tecpētiuh, cecexiuhtica in quiqua, oc xivid ontlaxillacalli in quiqua no oncalpoltin in calpolveuetq. auh in quimoiamamacaia in jnacaio in tzoalli, cenca çan achitoton, çan tepitoton, pitztiton. iehoan in telpopuchti in quiquaia.

auh injn quiquaia mjtoa tenqualo, auh in ie oquiquaque motenoua tenpia.—

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which are related the penances which they performed who ate of the body of Uitzilopochtli.

And great was the distress which was caused. And for one full year the youths fasted. At this time they burned much wood—each night [bringing] two thousand eight hundred pieces in honor [of Uitzilopochtli], and on the following day the same, and on the next day likewise; and pine sticks. With ten large capes [they paid for that] which burned each night. This much impoverished [them].

And each man laid out one large cape and five

IOJC XY PARAPHO, vncā motenoa in tlamacenalitli, in quichioaia, in quiquaia in inacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Auh ca cenca vey in jnnetolinilix machioaia. auh vel oc xivid in moçaoaia in telpopochtin vncan mjiec in quitlatlaia in quavid in cecenioal macuilxoxotli, centzontli iecmachio, mantla yvi, mantla yvi, yoā oceal, matlactica quachtli in tlatla ieciual, ichoual y, in ofca tlacolinjaia:

yuan ceoan quachtli, yuan macuilxotl tequachtli in

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21. Following *Motelchi* (Arenas edition), the *Real Palacio MS* has "*Motelcuenquique, yn cuenta, cuquiquin, yuā cuenlotin. . . .*" Complete, the passage would read: "of four fine priests, the high priests, and of four masters of the youths. . . ."

21a. *Tlaillotlaque*: *lapsio*, according to Molina, *op. cit.* Antonio Montúfar, however (*El Calendario en la Organización Social de los Tarascos* [Morelia: Instituto de Historia, 1949], pp. 32 sqq., 49 sqq.), has "'collar' o 'barrio colonia'"; hence, possibly, neighborhoods. Cf. also his enlightening discussion of *calpolli*, esp. Chaps. VI-IX.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

small capes, and then one small basket of grains of dried maize and one hundred dried ears of maize. Each man brought forth this.

This gave rise to much distress; it caused much anguish; it afflicted [them]. And some therefore fled; they therefore went elsewhere. And many flung themselves in the midst of war;[20] they cast themselves to their deaths, they who threw themselves into the wars.

And when already they were to give up their office, when already they were to finish [their penances], when already [they had served] one year, once again they set out, each one, three small capes, for buying pine sticks, and also three [more], for buying wood, from which a torch was made. All six together were needed when it came to pass that Uitzilopochtli was bathed, when the year ended.

And they bathed Uitzilopochtli at midnight. Before he was bathed, first all took part in a winding procession. And a man was arrayed as the likeness of Uitzilopochtli, [and] named Yopoch. Upon him was placed the adornment [of the god] which for one year remained upon him.

For the space of a year he wore [Uitzilopochtli's] adornment. Hence he fasted for a year, that he might wear his array. And he danced when he wore his raiment. One [dancer] went guiding him; one went ahead, before him, named master of the youths of Uitznauac. And all the [other] masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and then all those who were intrepid in war, went following him, taking him in a winding procession.

At this time there was need of torches, pine torches. And when midnight had come, thereupon he went to be bathed. [The others] went lighting the way with torches, with hand-borne torches—with [torches] to light him held in the hand,—and with incense ladles held in the hand. They proceeded playing flutes for him. When they came to arrive at the Idol House, thereupon they set down the likeness of Uitzilopochtli.

And the keeper of the god then took up the water in a blue gourd vessel, and when he had drawn the water, he offered it before him. Then he took up the fresh, green reeds; four of them he put into the gourd vessel, and four times he took up water to bathe the face [of the image]; thus he bathed it.[21] And when

quiçtlalilia cecen tlacatl, njmon ie tlaolli centzin co-pincacentli, yuan mamaxtlpoalli cintli, in cecen tlacatl, quinentlalia.

Jehoatl y, in oltca tlamoquipechoaia, tlatlelaxitilia, tlatolinjaia, auh in oquiçtin ic cholouia, ic canapa itzmiia. Yoan mioquiçtin in ẽmotlacomaiavia inoc ẽmomjccatleçaia, in ca ẽmomochtia in jniaoan,

auh in iquac in ic quicaoaoquc, in itzequiuh, in ie ic tlamoquiztiquc, in ie ic ce xivitl oc ceppa, quitlatlalilia, cecẽiaca cheteri tequachtli ecoconalonj no ceteri quauhcoalonj ceteri tlepilli ic mochico, in ie mochi ic nepan chiquacenteri, iquac monequia, inje malniaia Vitzilobuchtli, inje ontlamj ce xivitl.

auh in caltitia in Vitzilobuchtli ioalnepantla, in ziauo maltia achtopa nococoloa, auh ce tlacatl mochichioaia in jxiptla in Vitzilobuchtli, itoca Yaobuch, conmaquja, in itlatquj, in ce xivitl ipan ocatca.

yn oquiçcauhtili, itla aquj ic moçaoa ce xiujtl in itla aquiz. auh mixotiaia in oitla ac, ce qujiacãtiuh, ce ixpan icatiuh, itoca vitznauac teachcauh, auh in juq'ch tlachcauhti, in telpochtequioaque. yoan in ie izquich in quauhtlocetzti quinocativi, coloivitivi.

Je vncanja in monoqui tlepilli, in ocupilli. auh in oacic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic iauh in maltiz quiçlavilitivi, matlcpiltica, mactlavilica, matlematica, quitlapichilitivj, in oacito in ziauhcalco njman ie ic quitlalia, in ixiptla in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in teuhoa njmon ie ic concuj in atl xaxovic xicalxica, auh in ocuxopilo, atl, ixpan conmana, çiçopan concuj, in acatl xoxouhcqui, celtic, navi conmaqua xicalco neppa in concui atl ic quixamja ic calxia. auh

20. Sahagún (Códice Matritense, p. 208) translates this sentence as "aunque dicen . . . de ellos se dan de cuchilladas." Cf. Garibay (above).
21. See III. 4.

•796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyoc and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[20]

in oconalti, niman ie no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapalos, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh njman ie ic qujvica in itepeiioc vmpa centlalia, auh in iõc ocontlalito, njman ie ic momotaoa, vivilos, ie vncan tconquiça, in ineçaoaliz, in jatlamaceoaliz, in teoquaque ce xivitl.

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Vitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

785 And when they had nothing more with which to
423 buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had lent. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

INJC NAVJ PARRAPHO vncan moteneoa in oc centlamantli tequjtl vel etic, in quichioaia in ichcauhtin qujcelilaia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl teuquanque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacavililotiuh, nepapatlalotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoleque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

vel vmpa onquiça in netolinilistli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquiça in jnnetolinilis injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quavitl icrioal, yoan miec in ocotl tzomonquj, injc tlaviloia, yoi quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, iztatl, aiocochtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

auh in aoc tle itlaconia, itech quioallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quioaltzacaia, anoço canah temac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quexquich quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chinahtlalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço ximmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

auh in aqujn in amo conieconia tequitl, ie quica-

20. The meaning of the term *ixiptla* may be either an *ordinary image* or *impersonator*. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator leave the image at the Mist House, where the keeper of the god (*teohua*) bathed the image; either he bathed also the impersonator, or the latter bathed himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

4: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

773
539
796
532

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[P. 36(C)]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

539
796
532
782

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX)

[p. 36 (D)]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

De la astrologia

SEVENTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SUN, AND THE MOON, AND THE STARS;[1] AND OF [THE CEREMONY] OF THE BINDING OF THE YEARS.

JNIC CHICOME AMOSTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN TONATIUH: YOAN IN METZTLI, YOAN IN ÇIÇITLALTI, YOAN IN TOXIMOLPIA.

796
821

First Chapter, which telleth of the sun.

The sun: the [illegible]uring eagle,[2] the turquoise prince, the god.

He shone, cast forth light, sent forth rays [of light] from himself. Hot, he burned men—he burned them exceedingly; and made them sweat. He turned men's skins brown, darkening them, blackening them, blistering them.

Every two hundred and sixty days, when his feast day came, then his festival was honored and celebrated. They observed it on his day sign, called Naui ollin. And before his feast day had come, first, for four days, all fasted. And when it was already his feast day, when first he came forth, when he emerged and appeared, incense was offered and burned; blood [from the ears] was offered. This was done four times during the day—when it was dawn; and at noon; and past midday, when already [the sun] hung [low]; and when he entered [his house]—when he set; when he ended [his course].

And early in the morning it was said: "Now he will work; now the sun will labor. How will the day end?" And when night fell, it was said: "He hath worked; the sun hath labored." When he issued forth [at dawn], sometimes he was blood-colored, bright red, ruby-red. And sometimes he was quite pale, white-faced, pallid, because of the clouds—a mist, a

Inic ce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in tonatiuh.

Tonatiuh, quauhtleoanitl, xippilli, teutl.

Tona, tlanextia, motonameiotia: totonequi, tetlati, tetlaclati, teitoni: teistlileuh, teistlilo, teiacapotzo, teistlecaleuh.

Matlacpoalltica, ipan epoalli, in ilhuiuhpoçaia: in ilhuichiuhliloia, ilhuiquinililoia: ipá quimattiuia, in itonal itoca naolin. Auh in iiamo quiça ilhuiuh: achtopa, nauilhuitl, neçaoaloia. Auh in iconc ie ipan ilhuiuh, in iconc ianciliçan, oalquiza, oalmoanana, oalpetzini: tlenamacoia, tlatotonilo, neçoa. In hin, muchioaia nappa, cemilhuitl: iconc in ioatzinco, inš nepâtla tonatiuh, ioan iconc in ie onmotencaloa, in ie onmopiloa; inš iconc in oncalaqui, in onaqui, in onmotzincoa.

Auh in ioatzinco, mitoaia: ca ie tequitia, ie tlacotic in tonatiuh; ¿quen vetzia in cemilhuitl. Auh in oiooac, mitoaia: otequit, oclcotic in tonatiuh: inic· oalmoana, in quenman uel catic, chichiltic, tlapaltic. Auh in quenman, çan iztalectic çan canteztac, çan cecentiuh: ijcuepa in mieli, in mixtzinuid, anozo mixpantil, mixtecacalli, in iuco moteca.

1. The reader is referred to the Nomenclator and vocabulary in this Appendix to this book, taken from Francisco Pino y Tirocinio, ed.: Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: edición paralela del Texto de los códices mexicanos en lengua mexicana (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905).

2. [Illegible]eanitl: eagle with the fiery arrows, according to Rémi Siméon: Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885).

9: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 821 757 824 [785]

heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

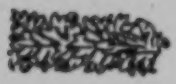
Tonatiuh quahuitl.

In iconac machioa, y, chichilihtiuiuiuana: auc tlaca manj, aoc tlaca ca, ca mocuecuepitmanj: ofca tlacoçauia: niman ic tlatzomonj, tlaçal comonj: neacomanalo, necomonjlo, nemauhtilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquiztleoa in macoualti: netenujieco, netempapaujlo, tlacacaca, tlacacaoalo, tzatzilo: oiocalli moteca, Tlacatzalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquiztilo: nemacaxteco: auh in teteupan, xuuchcuico, tlachalantoc, tlacacoacauc: ic mitoaia, itzla tlamiz, in quale tonatiuh: cenxiuiouan: oalcemanque, in tzitzitzimi, tequaquini.

1. Tlamatinime sã, however, the corresponding passage in the Memoriales text reads (Appendix to this volume), ufque the phrase is translated "Semblores de colorfes diuerſos y cara Mudada."

-2-

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7



Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlal[illegible] etc., or whichever one he went representing. They deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, were spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, these also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, rolled, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Inic matlactli cepōhualo, vncan motenehua, in tlatecpanilistli: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tleil necia.

Ic tlapoiioa, in nican onoaia mexico: motecpantiuia mochinti in tletlenamacaque, mochicāuhtimi, omonaquia in intlaqui tetzu: in cecenilca ipan 793
mixtenaia, quinmixiptlatilia, in aço quetzalcoatl, 372
anoço tlaloc et' in çaço ac iehoatl ipan quittitia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan ioian in iztuiia, onotiuiia, 796
mantiuia: motenehua, teuicnemi, inic uellaquauhtiotia onaci, vmpa uixachtlā.

Auh in iehoatl copolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlaxqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamamaltiuh itlequauh: quichecotiuh ica in imamalioaca, in itlaçaloca.

In iqoac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetziz tlequauitl: vncan cempoliooaz, centlamoaz, centlaioaz, aocmo oalquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioca, oaltemoaque ih tzitzitzimi, tequaquini:

ic muchi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, socac tlalchi, tlatzinda, calı mocaoaia, motlaliaia. Auh in ootzti, momexxiacatiaia, inmemexxiac quicuia, yoan cuezcomac quiotlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaitoia, iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauitl: no iehoantin tequaque, motequicuepaque. [843]

Auh in pipiltotōti, no quinmemexxiacatiaia: xiac vel oncochia, onicopia, ommipiquia, onjamoxolouia: çan ic cate in innāhoa, in intahoā, quimixiticate, quintipinticate, quintilocicate, quintzatzilticate, quimixitija, quintipinja, quintilos: ipappa intla oncochizque, quilmach quiquimichtin mōcuepaque, quimichtinque.

S: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

372
793
796

deep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[185] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[182] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *itzpanaz*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onizzioznc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: iquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, ōmoteмachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in icoac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in onopiz, in oxotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōnezi, oalitto in vēca.

Numan ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzizicuinilia izquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic conchetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca isquaoac. etc.[a]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlactiopce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iiacuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacaxque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, tirlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much iehoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlaçani, in iubqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxitiiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

793
796
372
202

First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[17] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contrepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oalteno, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpuico: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

793
796
372

This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizque inchan, quimoxamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achiteoca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Ve cumplidores, hombres de cal y canto, gruesos delante del pueblo"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, does explains this distribution: "I de allí tomaná y llevarán al aposento de los mayordomos, que se dicen mexicanos; y después a otros aposentos, de los dichos mejicanos, de pobres; y de allí tornarán, y llevarán todos por ensima, de la ciudad."

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

793
796
372

short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tletl, cuecuepocaxiquiça: no vmpa achto quiquixquiça, quitlamelaoaltiuetzi in iteopan, in icalmecac, in itocacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cẽmani in nouiian tlatlanilacalpan, youa in calpan.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him *Motelpilli, Xiuhtlalpil, Xiuhtzitzqui, Xiuhtli, Texiuh, Xiuhelatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen*, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoçol, etc.

And when, [i]t the time of Moctezuma, our years were bound, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] *xiuitl*. Wherewever [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Ixiic mathactlomume, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in iquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tletl: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiiiicuilloia in itlaquen, yoan in iquich calitlatquitl.

Niman icoac, iquich iancuiia, in calitlatquitl: . oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlatquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in motetreca, ioli in tenamastli, in tezolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic ommaquia, in incue, in inuipil.

Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic onpeoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquiz, ic otechtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianaliztli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemiitl, nauhcampa coniiaoa in itheoalco, çatepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc cpalli:

nimá ie ic necpan tzotzooalqualo, vncan ic neçaoaliztlalhuilo, inic aiac atliz, ic centlathuiz: quincenmomamiiiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oacic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaaltilti: quinicoac cenpapacoa, tlâtlaqualo: icoac oc ceppa iácuican netlêtlecuiltilo, netlêtlecuillalililo.

Auh in oimacxaxia ootzti, intla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacachiuh: intla oquichtli iconeuh otlacat, quitocaiotiaia motpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzqui, xiuhtli, texiuh, xiuhelatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.ª Auh intla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoçol. Etc.ª

Auh in icoac, ipan mochiuh motecuçoma, toxiuhmolpili cenca nouiian ic tlanaoati, inic temoloa malli: in itoca xiuitl, in çaço campa itʃ onoc. Auh oc axiouc ueiztzincatl, tlaçopilli: itoca xiuhtlamin, tlatlulco malli mochiuh: in tlamanj itoca itzcuin, auh ic tocaiotiloc, ic notzaloc xiuhtlaminoniani: ca ichtil

[372] [782] [785] [551] [796] [372] [782]

[See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

796
372
782

and became a captive at Tlatilulco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[9] For on the breast of his captive fire was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ielpan uetz, in tlequauitl imal, muchi tleco tlan in jnacaio: auh ça tzoboalli, inic quixiptlaioti, in ipan quipouh: tlaolpeoaztli ipan quitlatlali, inic quitequalti.

10. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Los mandó no hiciesen de semblante, como guerreros, el qual se dezia, xiuhtlamiqui y la causa es la guerra, no cabiendo de dentrales, que cada vno tubiese temaje, por lo qual despues, le llamauan a el, xiuhtlamiquiuaya. . . ." In Jens, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "Und diese Leute sie sollen keine zum Verwechseln, diese Leute verwalteter Abkunft, Xiuhtlamin mit Namen, aus Tlatilulco, den seine Kriegsgefangenen der Bilder machen, der Bauche hier und der Innenschenkel der Namen erhitzt und Xiuhtlamiquaul genannt wurde."

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

821
532
372
796
782

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

532
[796
643]

[366
262
415]

[643
701
431]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

94, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçiet! tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [795] [791] [276 415]

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the term *tetzon*: "*Da es im Text dargelegen heisichaut, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *tlemaxaquia* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlaut sie mit einer Schnur.*"

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 293 727 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with] quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimā ye ic quimaca im motecciuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 727 And the captive he then took there where he was to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuā quinchiuaya. Auh niman cōmaca ȳ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo ſenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispā im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ȳ ye iuhqui in oc̄ic-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtoaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in ōya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauuid moch coniaua. inic cōmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in ōya. niman ic cōuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicnuac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moyechcultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman ōmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca onmaquetztiteca niman ic conelteq' concuilia in iyollo coniauilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

-84-

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti*; they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimā ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuātin ypilhuā in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in isquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauiztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'mismaqictimomana in tototecti. aço nauhimapa. in motztimani. auh
nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in tototecti q'moncotoniliq in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mocotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzontecontitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mōcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel 431
nouian calaq̄ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancalaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlaeuā. in queheua cōmaca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

●796 And when they had come to [the end of] the twenty days, thereupon they went to Yopico. There they laid away their skins; then they cast them down in a cave, a very deep place, and there buried them.

ṡuh in oncique cempoualilhuiqd nimā ye ic ui i yopihco. ompa quitlalia in imeuayo niman contepeua oztoc uel huecatlī ompa contoca.

NU7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Nineteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado][1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with their war array; they were dressed in battle gear, bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one—stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs—[the framework of] Uitzli [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Injc cxxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles, quinnacaztique Mexica: injc quichioanque iiojlhujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh inin amo ixpan mucáiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia atenco injc acico Panphilo de narbayez.

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic quitlanj in jilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, quimaviçoznequj quittaznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmā ie ic tlanaoatia in Motecuçoma, in aqujque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, quioalquixtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalquiz tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica motecuçoma: njman ie ic quiteci in ouuhtli chicalutl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncā in teuitoalco, oalquizque in Españoles, cenca onococencauhq̄ in jca iautlatquitl, moixochichiuhque, moquichichiuhque, intlan quiquiça, intzalan quiquiça, quiniaiavaloa, quincecenmjtta, imixco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oquimonittaco, njmā ie ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: quilmach iquac temictinquia intla mjec tlacatl cenquiçani toquichtin.

Auh in ie oncic ilhuitl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in quipeoaltia in quitlacatilia in jnacaio, quitlacatlaliaia; quitlacatlachichtiaia, quitlacanextia. Auh inin quinaciotiaia çan tzoalli, ic in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacopechpan in quitlaliaia, ic in vitzitzillacutl, yoā nacaztlacutl.

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1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

2. Cf. J.M.A. Arbiño: *Historia de la nación mexicana . . . reproducción del Codex de 1576* (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1953), pp. 80qq., where the narrative of the Conquest contains a different version.

3. *Chichicuilotl*: cf. Hernández, op. cit., III, pp. 882-887 (*chichicuil o cuipinj "cardo," Argemone mexicana L.*); Sonnenschein, op. cit., I, p. 422 (*chichicuilotl*); Bennett, op. cit., p. 263 (*amaranto Argemone al Mexico*); Cecilio Robelo Manchón: *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), pp. 137-138 (*prickly poppy — Argemone grandiflora*).

4. *Ibíze*, in *Hoige Kapitel*, p. 101, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, 1, §2, *Tlacatlaxcalchichiltl* as *chichiltl*. See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conquerors*, p. 68.

5. Textual considerations from Mgr. Angel María Garibay and Byron Mickles, Nov., 1954: "*Y a este le hacen su cuerpo con bledos, con bledos de chichiltic (Argemone mexicana, esp. Lehmann). Le ponen el armado de varas de varejón; es el armado de Huitzil (opochtli), y el armado de espinas.*" Three authorities explain: "*Le hacen vitzilmetl, o sea 'varas de Huitzil,' porque está formado de palos delgados y ayudan del conquistador que se nombra dicen y figura (principalmente de Huitzilli), y el nombre del dios está abreviado Vitzili 'pericos, colibrí' que supone el abreviado Opochtli de la izquierda del mundo, que es el sur.*—Nuevamente lit. 'varas de arrejo.' La palabra *tlacatl*, *tlacatli significa una cosa duras y resistentes, como era la de los dardos. Se halla también en el anterior compuesto. Nacaztli es 'oreja, espinas,' y 'varas de espinas' supone que era el armadillo, o aparato una construcción de varas rígidas o acondicionadas en forma de pedazos clavados y trenzados. Sobre esta armadura se ponían los bledos o cenizas de bastidor, que eran precisamente de la planta dicha. Llamadas también (armadas), 'bledos de pencado.'* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 68; Sahagún (Bolondo ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

796
778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose ród [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

[237]

[532]

[289]

Auh in ie utlacat, njmā qujquapotonja, yoan qujchioa, ixtlā tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoā yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlateicujlolli: no itech pilcaia moteneoa vitznaoajutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tēcuxtli yoā icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmā contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmā ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuexpalli, yoā itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncā icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh inje viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ietica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

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6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica sp.*?); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica sp.*; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*, *Boraginácea*, segunda Kostka Chizy ("*quemadora*," "*ortiga*"); and *W. caracasana* H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 456, writes of *chichicaxtle*: "*la ortiga amarga. . . . La especie principal es la* Jatropha urens L. . . . *En Méjico, planta herbácea, semirrepadora, común en las zonas cálidas y templada*" (*Malvácia dentículata*, *Euphorbia dentículata*). Also, "*Plantas urticáceas, llamadas también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemadora, chichicastillo, tachinole, en Méjico.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicaxtli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *[cal. Sahag., op. cit., p. 506, has supplied -catca.* Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the omission is *-maxtli.*

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 68, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, chalky fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bell's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia ordenada por la cepa de liber de algunos árboles del género ficus. Servía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los ídolos, vestidos y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tewaxelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. *Yuan* is repeated in the MS.

Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izquican ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececẽquetzalo, iuhqujn in iololipã in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, inje quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitcalco, inje vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ocecenquixoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aqujn qujçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aqujn maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aqujn çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetzvitequj, caculhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh xiac temacnaoati:

cenca ichoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie ixquich telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocoleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motencoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: qujmjlhujaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anquiteittitia, amo techitto.

[p. 52 is blank]

-51-

796 778 **Twentieth Chapter.** Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Injc cempoalli capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctique, qujmjxtlatique in Mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncā mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

In ie inmā, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauciuchiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampa qujxoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocōtzatzacque: no izqujcā momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmā ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipāvia imeevachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujniaoaloa in mjtotia, njmā ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmā qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocoton vmexti in jmacpal çatepan qujquechviteque veca vetzito in jquech: njmā ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel qujtzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzōtecō. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzviviteque, cequjn qujnmetzviviteque, cequjntin qujmjtiviteque, njmā moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcul, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn xoxoqujova in momaqujxtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aqujn qujçaznequj, vmpa qujoalhujtequj, qujvalxitili.

Auh cequjntin, tepantli qujtecavique, tel huel momaqujxtiq̄: cequjntin calpulco cacalacque vmpa momaqujxtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'x-

1. In the Codex, the slide is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Iztapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopán road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cano, *Revista antigua*.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oqujzque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 778 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put [237 293] on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujqujxtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn ixqujch in jmjxiptlavan, in impatiloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujncecencauhque, qujntlaquentique, qujnquequetzallotique, qujncozcatique, qujmonaaqujque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan qujnquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tonquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatqujtl in monec, qujpiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 805 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpanjztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlamj, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemj, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlasuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa qujçaco, in ie no ceppa tiqujmjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in qujçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicomjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltito. Auh ie no ceppa qujçaco, çan qujztiqujzque quauhtitlampa itztiaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiqujzque in

1. So the Aztec reads (*compulsion* see Molina, *op. cit.*, *cuicuichiza, compulsive*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. See variant translation in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, ..." The boy (Mexican "piltonth") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sious, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al atro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

nte (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Texcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241–243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Texcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Texcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Mutezuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,000 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had *to entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Texcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fuéron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416–421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholullan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 439). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 33. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "*y* los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 128).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que recenoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de esto se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acuihuacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib. XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agraviándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsele la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlalúacpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also-
● [796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mántas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofréciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo desclanos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofréciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alcarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX, p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 172). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Aculhuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes; consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli
[One House]. It is placed to the west with reference
to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a
rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is
placed to the south with reference to the circle. By
means of these characters they counted fifty-two
years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And
they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint
Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so
describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether,
make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
●796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to
renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the
×787 fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn
feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old
[fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain
took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the
statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as
well as the intention of serving them for the next
fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or
oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these
periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
×787 born would have, whether men or women. It was
done in this way. They had twenty characters. The
first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the
third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent,
etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at
the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of
these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all
together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some
say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of
the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the
number of days in which the sign or character
[443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days,
and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the
tianquiztli, or markets, are fixed according to this
number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by
periods of five days they established the markets or
fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days],
but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in
many places, they set the markets and fairs accord-
ing to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vne tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servir a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las proujncias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de seruirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdix: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos trese dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino quintana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

Here followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which those natives had.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toximmolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itztapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico —Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

Tambien en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andã vinculadas o pareadas. 805

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, es la que se sigue.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuẽta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començo: pero tenjan por muy averiguado, y como de fe, que el mũdo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan pronostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toximmolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nueuo, y primero que los sacassen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las proujncias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los satrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itztapalapan: que ellos llaman Vitzachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella cerimonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegassen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cesaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821 796 372

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta proujncia de mexico, Tezcucu, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a uer el fuego nueuo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los satrapas, con gran cerimonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

When they made the new fire and held this ceremony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

They observed another feast every four years, in honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mjra, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y qujnjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y qujnjẽtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrẽtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su biesto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho mèses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destós cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto qujn-

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[1] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, vague characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagos: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

Otra cuenta tenjan, estos naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa rasonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por jerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamẽte.

1. See Plates 105 and 106.

1 [see cat. 116,117, 126r, 126s. - AMNH 245 1/454]